

/114 cont'd/

Mo assets and his widow being the property of his own family, they go
587 back into its domain.

428 These conditions show clearly that the widow is considered to
593 have left the family of her former parents-in-law completely; the
Mo latter have given up all the rights they had with respect to her and
589 have entrusted the children to her with the obligation to raise them
for their clan.

Mo When such a marriage is made, a contract is always written in
584 duplicate; /115/ one copy is kept by the husband, and the other is
587 given to the family of the former parents-in-law of the widow. In it
675 minute mention is made of properties, debts, ... and then of the
obligations of the new husband.

Mo If they remain poor after the marriage and find it impossible to
382 marry off the sons, when the latter have grown up they end up by
going away as they wish.

Mo There is no abduction to fear in the present case; the marriage
587 takes place very simply and openly. If the widow has plots of land
591 and the husband does not, he comes to live with her; in the opposite
case, the widow with the children moves in with him. If neither
one nor the other has anything, they look for a place to stay and go
to live together. One prostration to heaven and to the spirits, in the
presence of the go-between and the parents, and this is all the cere-
mony of such marriages; add to it another to the parents and to the
go-between. (1)

Mo 1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit.¹ p. 142:

428 If the widow and her daughters do not
589 wish to be cared for by their husband's
425 and father's brothers, they may also
receive a part of the property. This
part is equal to that of a brother. In
this way the woman may become the
owner of land and house. But this
ownership can be maintained only
during two generations (from mother
to daughter) because the bride's

[1. op. cit. ie: Social Organisation of the
Manchus --- Analyst.]

/119 cont'd/

606 other hand, the family is well-to-do, the brothers of the future father-
 608 in-law will not allow his daughter, at his death, to inherit his prop-
 428 erty, which by right will have to revert to them. They will thus do
 their utmost early to see that the daughter will be given in marriage
 outside the family, and they will try to persuade the father to adopt
 one of their sons. If the father will not hear of it and continues to
 look for this ideal son-in-law, the family will not be able to gainsay
 it as long as the parents-in-law are living. The latter on their part
 will be prepared for eventualities and will try to cash in their real
 estate so as to be able to favor the daughter. Nevertheless, the son-
 in-law will always be the bête noire of the family and will be able
 to expect a thousand annoyances and continual ill will. Upon the
 death of the parents-in-law, the son-in-law has the right to return
 with his wife to his original family; but since the latter is usually
 poor, he will not do it; besides, he knows in advance that he will not
 be welcome. In the case where his wife's family is rich, they will
 always leave at least something to the daughter at the time of division
 of property, for example, several plots of land, a house, etc.; she
 will never be completely disinherited. Add to that the little bonus
 she has put aside in advance, and the young couple will have some-
 thing to live on. The brothers of the husband-son-in-law will not
 come to beg from him, since the property he possesses is deemed to
 belong to his wife.

In the case where the parents-in-law are the only representatives
 of their clan, the position of the husband-son-in-law is more enviable.

I have never seen people look for husband-sons-in-law where
 there were sons.

The position of the husband-son-in-law with respect to his
 wife's family is thus again a false position.

606 The contracts of such marriages, as a general rule, are not
 675 punctiliously observed, especially when the parents-in-law are poor;
 either the son-in-law ends up by deserting his wife and her /120/
 family and goes elsewhere to seek his fortune, or the daughter, lov-
 ing her husband, flees with him. If people succeed in bringing them
 back and if they persist in no longer wanting to live with the parents,

/120 cont'd/

an attempt will be made to demand some kind of compensation from the son-in-law, and the affair will be ended.

The conclusion of the chapter will thus be that we are here in the presence of a deformation of the practice of spending a lifetime, on the part of the son-in-law, in the family of his parents-in-law, for the purpose of obtaining their daughter in marriage.

Have the T'ou-jen ever practiced this custom in all its fullness? In principle that is not impossible, since one still sees the Manchu practice it as such today, even while having a patriarchal system and paternal succession. In addition, we know that the Mongols, racial brothers of the T'ou-jen, formerly used to follow this custom and that they still practice it. (1) Next, it is very curious to ascertain how

1. Vladimirtsov, Life of Ghingis Khan, p. 87? (Yesugey with his son Temuchin (future Ghingis Khan) goes to ask in marriage for the latter Bötö, daughter of Dai-se-chen.) This proposal was accepted, Yesugey presented Dai-se-chen with his reindeer horse, and left Temuchin to stay there in the quality of future son-in-law. This, according to the Mongol custom, definitely confirmed Yesugey's decision to become related to the house of Dai-se-chen /cited in English, with introductory sentence in French in parentheses/.

the T'ou-jen easily adopt it again in all its purity as soon as they find themselves again in a place where it is practiced.

The subprefecture of Koei-té, situated two days' journey to the south of Sining on the shores of the Yellow River in the middle of Tibetan territory, forming there a prosperous Chinese-T'ou-jen oasis, has for a long time been the place of refuge for T'ou-jen who fled with someone else's wife with the intention of never returning to their

/121 cont'd/

608 our judge in case of litigation; nobody would have dared to address
 178 himself to the Chinese mandarins for fear of reprisals on the part of
 the t'ou-se. I believe we /122/ must look in this direction for the
 solution to our problem. As a matter of fact, the Chinese court
 [423] recognizes only the sons' right of inheritance and, lacking them,
 that of members of the paternal side. In case of litigation, the pa-
 ternal side is always sure to win its case against an only daughter,
 and the brother husband-son-in-law, as long as adoption has not
 been practiced, can always hope to see his rights recognized in his
 original family. Several verdicts of this kind suffice to deform a
 custom and create a completely new attitude. In addition, a tested
 virtue is necessary to be able to resist such temptations!

2. Exchange of a Girl for Furnishing of Services for a Fixed Number of Years

583 Everyday experience having proved that the preceding solution
 565 is not practical, say the T'ou-jen, there are people who look for
 466 another, more psychological in actual fact. Indeed, the sight of the
 end of one's own troubles in a future relatively near at hand gives
 the courage to remain faithful to duty. A family of poor or even
 average means can promise to give their daughter to a poor young
 man provided that he binds himself to work five, eight, ten, or 12
 years for them.

675 The contracts for these marriages are generally made by the
 466 parents themselves, with one or two individuals who act as guarantors
 606 for the son-in-law. While in the preceding case the girl can be
 583 nubile at the time when a husband is being found for her, in the
 present case the arrangement always takes place when the girl is
 only seven, eight, or ten years old at the most. As for the age of
 the son-in-law, there is nothing definite: he can be ten or 12 years
 old as well as 30 and even more. When the girl is 15, they will
 have a little festival, and she will wear her hair in the fashion of
 married women; then she is married.

Why this engagement when the girl is still a child? /123/ It
 is because they know one another in the country and do not want to

/123 cont'd/

Mo be duped all down the line. As a matter of fact, as soon as the girl
 675 is 15 and is married, she, like her husband, will want to be more
 606 free. She will let him persuade her that one can work everywhere
 466 and that there is nothing more to be gained in the home of the parents-
 583 in-law. One day there is an argument in the family, and the couple
 disappears. Now at this moment the family of the parents-in-law
 will already have profited by at least several years of work by the
 son-in-law. It rarely happens that the son-in-law is faithful to his
 pledges to the end. It is then a frail alliance.

Mo The present case is the usual case of husband-sons-in-law. It
 608 enjoys a very wide diffusion all over Asia, among the Turkish, Mon-
 606 gol, and Manchu peoples and among the peoples of northern Asia (1),
 583
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1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 75:

Mo There is also a very interesting custom
 606 of getting a wife by personal work in
 608 the house of the future father-in-law.

583 A poor man who cannot pay "kalim"
 through the intermediary of some per-
 son asks the bride's father to give him
 his daughter against his personal work
 in the house of his future father-in-law.

The minimum period of this is three
 years and the maximum ten years.

The future son-in-law lives in the
 house of his future father-in-law, but

he always has his separated spirits
 and goes to his clan's meetings and

sacrifices. After the fixed period is
 expired, they make a very modest

wedding and the young husband brings
 his wife to his own house or lives in

the house of his wife's father as a
 workman at a fixed salary. Some-

times the father-in-law gives the

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586 is for sale. These prices are as a general rule higher than those paid for a widow or a girl.

The agreement is generally concluded in the following manner:

/138/ After the husband and wife have consulted together and the wife has found a place to go, the husband invites to his house two go-betweens, his uncles, and his brothers. He admits to them that the situation is impossible and that he wants to get rid of his wife; that she has found a prospective husband and that she is in agreement with him. Several days later the go-betweens one evening invite "to their home" the husband, his uncles, his brothers, the wife's prospective husband, and two or three of his friends. They first discuss the price of the woman. For people of average means, the price will vary between 200 and 300 strings of cash. Then they talk over the sum demanded by the signers of the contract, who as always try to profit by these transactions. The amount of money these people claim is sometimes very considerable and can represent half of the woman's price; it is because as members of the family, they do not permit this dishonor. Then comes the discussion of the sum which will be given to the woman's parents-in-law, who are supposed to oppose the divorce also, for they especially are sensitive to this loss of face for the whole family. This sum can go from ten to 50 strings of cash. The money stipulated for a divorce is required up to the last cash. The prospective husband puts the money into the hands of the go-betweens, who will give it to those who have a right to it after the signing of the contract.

586 This contract will never be written in any house but in a re-
 675 mote place, a ravine or a mountain cave. The first signer is the
 587 husband. He must sign with the left thumb and the right toe; for this purpose they smear the thumb and toe with ink and put them on the contract; then come the other signers, who sign by hand. When the contract is signed, the go-betweens go to get the woman and present her to her new owner. After all is arranged and the wife is already in her new dwelling, the go-betweens go to pay a visit to the wife's parents in order to announce the new marriage of their daughter to them and to bring a little gift on behalf of the new

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586 son-in-law. At the same time they invite them /139/ to come to
 675 the home of the new son-in-law to be present at the wedding, which
 587 is conducted according to the custom for the marriage of widows.

The go-betweens have a rather easy task at the home of the wife's parents, since it is their daughter who has herself sought a match and has been the cause of the divorce.

586 It is superfluous to say that divorces are viewed with disfavor. They always advise against taking a wife whose husband is living, for one does not divorce a good wife. These are costly and very risky marriages in this sense, that often harmony does not prevail very long between the new husband and wife. Also the adage says: He who has money does not buy the wife of a husband who is still living; he who has cash does not acquire lands situated on river banks (for fear of erosion).

The cause of the rarity of divorces and repudiations is to be sought in the dishonor which T'ou-jen common sense believes to be attached to them. This thesis is easily proved by the fact that they precisely allege dishonor to the family in order to be able to extort a large sum of money from the purchaser. Now the T'ou-jen do not let go of their money without serious reason! This thesis is again proved by the really lugubrious circumstances which accompany divorce and repudiation; these contracts are signed at night... in a cave, signed by the toe..., while all those present talk only of dishonor.... Now these circumstances of time, place, manner are not those of an honorable act. These circumstances leave a deep impression on the people. In addition, they always speak of a divorced woman with scorn, and of the man who married her. When they say that she is a houo jen ts'i, i. e., "the wife of a living man," they do not ask any further explanation; the situation is deemed to be known.

When, on the other hand, one thinks an instant about the solemnities which accompany the weddings of girls, of the expenses which are borne, and the trouble the whole clan, /140/ the friends, and neighbors take to pay their respects; when one thinks of the blessings which are wished for the couple and begged from heaven and the multifarious spirits, it is not surprising that the T'ou-jen believe

/The Monguors/

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The village effectively governs itself, punishing offenders, righting wrongs and maintaining peace. Great stress is placed upon faithful adherence to the old customs, and one of the important duties of the village chief is to see that they are observed. In any discussion about village affairs, the supreme argument is that of old customs. To neglect or forget the customs of the ancestors would undermine the stability and prosperity of the clan. (See Social Structure.) This conviction is drilled into the ears of the young on every possible occasion. A good test of a prospective village chief or T'u-szu is his firm and unshakable faith in the strict observance of clan tradition.

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[867]

During the administration of the Chinese Nationalists, the village elders had a real struggle to save their old customs and traditions. Social concepts had been undermined gradually by the enrollment of Chinese into Mongour clans, and in villages where Chinese had become elders, Chinese concepts had seeped in and were creating repercussions among the young Mongours.

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e. Stealing and gambling

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Stealing is considered an unforgiveable sin, and stealing animals is the worst possible form of stealing. All thieves are punished severely; cattle thieves are shown no mercy.

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Gambling is not permitted. Any offender must pay a fine, which is used for the upkeep of the temples or the expenses of the spring and autumn religious festivals.

f. Widowhood and remarriage

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A widow is allowed to remarry, and to make her own decision about whether or whom to marry. If she consents to remarry, she will exchange girdles with her prospective second husband in token of her willingness. If she wishes to marry one man and is being compelled to marry another, she can notify the first of the time of her departure to the home of the second, and the desired mate may kidnap her on the way. If a widow is kidnapped against her will, however, the matter is taken to the chief and the village elders.

g. Discipline of children

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Children are trained early in life. They attend the meetings at which crimes are discussed and punishment meted out, and learn first hand that undesirable behavior brings undesirable consequences. They are never shielded from the realities and miseries of life, and as a result they are more sophisticated in their social knowledge than youngsters in other countries.

h. Etiquette

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According to custom, only the oldest generation may be seated during meals. When the family is entertaining, the family head presides at the meal. His wife does not sit down unless the guests invite her to do so. During family meals, both grandparents sit on the k'ang, and the elder son may sit on the edge

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681 SANCTIONS--incidence and distribution of the major types of sanctions; capital punishment (e.g., hanging, decapitation, strangling, burning, dismembering); corporal punishment (e.g., flogging, mutilation, torture); property sanctions (e.g., damages, fines, confiscation); public humiliation (e.g., ridicule, pillory); deprivation of civil rights (e.g., enslavement, outlawry, imprisonment); theory of sanctions; systematization of sanctions (e.g., wergild, criminal codes); purpose of sanctions (e.g., compensation, punishment, prevention); penology; recipient of fines, damages, confiscated property (e.g., state, injured party); etc. See also:

Formal justice	69	Informal justice	637
Social control	626	Prisons and penal labor	697

624 lamas, the "passing" of land to people who are not members of the clan, etc.

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701 The number of men in the village liable to military service is checked, and the T'u-ssu carries out a military inspection. The troops turn out with their muskets and swords and horses. Tents, cooking kettles, pack animals and pack saddles, and sacks for carrying the flour ration are all inspected. The inspection concludes with a sham attack by the Monguor cavalry at full gallop, the soldiers firing their guns, drawing their swords, and howling and shouting.

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692 The next important procedure is ratification by the T'u-ssu of all the settlements made by the village elders in patching up quarrels during the preceding three years. The custom is that when such a settlement is made, each person involved must pay the elders 2,000 copper coins, and these accumulated sums must be offered to the T'u-ssu. If there are legal suits, as distinguished from these settlements, the T'u-ssu presides over them on the fourth day. To deal with such suits, he is accompanied throughout his journey by the officials of his court of justice and by lictors carrying chains, handcuffs, and batons, and wearing their appropriate costumes.

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• 681 The custom is that justice be rendered on the threshing floor of the village in the open air. The lord and his secretaries sit at tables. At the left stand two lictors dressed in red cotton and wearing high red harlequin hats, and with batons in their hands. At the right stand two lictors dressed in black. Chains, handcuffs, and batons are laid on the table, and plaintiffs and defendants kneel in front. The punishments inflicted include hanging by the wrists or thumbs, and flogging up to one hundred and even five hundred lashes. The offender is stripped and pegged out face downward, arms and legs spreadeagled. The lictors, armed with short whips or rods, strike the tender inner side of the thighs. Women are flogged on the bare back. The justice meted out is not always as brutal as it appears to be, because the retinue of the T'u-ssu is always venal. They depend on bribery for their income. Although most T'u-ssu do not approve of the corruption indulged in by many of their minor officials, they cannot always prevent it. Suits brought by the Monguors before the T'u-ssu are the delight of his retinue. It is often the crying injustices caused by the venality and peculation of the petty officials that cause Monguors to leave the clan territory and abandon their lord.

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691 The expenses of legal suits, and of the sojourn of the T'u-ssu with his retinue for that day, are paid by the litigants, but all other expenses of the official three-day visit are defrayed by the people of the village. At the end of the visit, the elders and troops of the next village come to escort the T'u-ssu on the next stage of his tour.

624 It may be noted that this triennial tour of the T'u-ssu, accompanied by his court of justice, seems to suggest that it is the T'u-ssu as an individual and not his mansion

515 by Chinese officials, or on journeys to congratulate
514 Chinese officials on the major feast days of the year.
The nobles as a group are also exempted from military
565 service, although the chiefs of the militia of the com-
701 moners, according to tradition, were always chosen from
among the nobles in former times. In later times both
622 nobles and commoners have served as commanders and
officers.⁸⁹

It is said by the Monguors that in times past it was
usually a noble who served as the chief of a village, but
that because at present there are very few capable men
among the nobles, these duties have devolved on com-
moners. Similarly, the nobles have lost the monopoly
of serving as military officers.

AUTHORITY OF T'U-SSU OVER NOBLES

624 As might be expected the relations between a T'u-ssu
565 and his nobles are of a special kind. It has already been
described how, on occasions of special ceremony, a
T'u-ssu may actually be expected to prostrate himself
before nobles who are members of a generation senior
to his own, while they do not have to prostrate themselves
to him, but merely clasp their hands and bow their heads.
Moreover, while the T'u-ssu takes precedence when he
is presiding as chief of the clan at the veneration of the
ancestors, at clan meetings, during the triennial visita-
tion, or when nobles or commoners are brought before
him in a lawsuit, yet on such occasions as non-official
dinners and the marriages of nobles, the T'u-ssu always
requests a noble of a generation senior to his own to
preside.

624 Difficulties among the nobles most commonly originate
565 either in quarrels over the division of a paternal in-
heritance or quarrels about the collection of taxes. In
692 order to prevent litigation, the clan elders try to arbitrate
such quarrels. Only if they are unsuccessful is a lawsuit
brought before the T'u-ssu. If the parties do not agree
to the T'u-ssu's verdict, they are free to appeal to a
Chinese court. In a case known to me, the eleventh
House of the clan of Li T'u-ssu had trouble with its
villages over the collection of taxes. Unwilling to abide
by the verdict of the T'u-ssu, the members of the House
went to the Chinese court. They were severely rebuked,
the Chinese judge angrily threatening to abolish the
outmoded custom under which the members of a whole
clan live at the expense of the commoners.

• 681 Nobles are never flogged or beaten for transgression
of the law, because the lictors are commoners and it is
not fitting that commoners should beat nobles.

624 When the T'u-ssu visits his nobles in the course of
565 his triennial tour, they defray his expenses, including
those of his retinue, just as do the commoners.

The old nomad custom was that when an individual

⁸⁹ Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 233, notes that among the Mongols of
the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, with the decay of the
feudal system, the duty of feudal service on the part of a noble
to his lord had become more voluntary than obligatory.

622 sends one of his assistants to invite the elders and
 627 summons the defendant. If the problem is important,
 the military commanders are also invited. Problems
 of this kind include delimitation of the boundaries of
 fields—a kind of arbitration case often made necessary
 by contracts drafted ambiguously by incapable men.
 Cases of dividing a paternal inheritance are often laborious
 and consume many days. The whole community is
 interested in such cases. In personal quarrels, disputes,
 •[681] and fights the offending party may be flogged with up
 to one hundred stripes. If the complainant has been
 wounded, the defendant is condemned, in addition, to
 defray the expenses for the doctor and for medicine and
 to pay indemnity for a fixed number of days of re-
 cuperation.

685 Stealing seems to be an ineradicable evil among the
 Monguors, and stealing of animals is the worst of all.
 The Monguors still seem to have the old attitude to-
 ward thieving and the stealing of animals, although
 thieves are severely punished. Among the neighboring
 nomads, when a man is caught red-handed stealing ani-
 mals, he is taken to a lonely spot, the tendons of his
 ankle joints are cut, and he is left, crippled, to die on
 the spot. The nomads show no pity for cattle thieves.
 The Monguors do not punish as cruelly and do not in-
 flict capital punishment, but the thief has his hands
 bound behind his back and is then hung by the thumbs,
 until he loses consciousness. Water is then poured on
 his head. When he recovers consciousness, the same
 sport is repeated two or three times. He is then flogged
 with up to five hundred stripes, or even more. If a thief
 is caught the second time, he is sent to the T'u-ssu's
 prison, and when he emerges from jail, he is a wreck of
 his former self—provided he escapes at all, by bribing
 the guards.

People who steal sheaves from the field at harvest time
 are flogged with up to fifty or one hundred stripes and
 are led through the village, the sheaves on their back,
 [805] crying the whole way long that they are guilty. Boys
 accused by their parents of disobedience are flogged in
 the same way, after having been forced to apologize to
 their parents.

684 An cases of adultery the guilty pair, if caught in
flagrante delictu, are flogged with up to one hundred
 stripes or more. The woman is beaten on her bare back
 with rawhide lash, the man on his bare buttocks and
 thighs. Apologies are made to the injured husband.
 A sheep or pig is brought to his home. Fire crackers
 are set off. The guilty pair ask a guarantor to speak
 for their proper conduct in the future. An official state-
 ment is written attesting the fact of adultery and the
 supplication for pardon. The two guilty persons place
 their right thumbs on an inked pad and then make an
 impression with the thumb on the statement. They are
 then led through the village, two drums beating before
 them, while they confess their guilt.

Once in a while a young woman runs away from her

684 husband—or rather, usually, from her mother-in-law. When brought back she endures one hundred lashes on the back, and is led to her husband's house with the same "ceremonial" as related above, after having asked for a guarantor and made her thumb-print on a statement. 583 Once in a while, also, a future son-in-law who is working for his future father-in-law, in order to marry the daughter, disappears with the daughter. After one or two years they return, and ordinarily the parents are delighted to see them again, and no more complaints are made.

525 In cases of gambling, a fine is imposed on the offenders for the upkeep of the temple or to defray the expenses of the religious celebrations performed by the shaman at the village in spring and autumn. All kinds of interesting and dramatic cases occur. Wives complain about their husbands; widows who do not intend to remarry complain about members of the family prodding and teasing them to remarry; widows willing to remarry are hindered from remarrying; or the price for a bride is not paid at the fixed time; or a betrothal is broken off, etc. 681 543

627 Two particular cases may be described in detail, because of the light they cast on the type of cases handled by chiefs and elders, and on Monguor society in general.

In the first case, in the valley of Hungnai, in 1918, Chang Chia-pa, a Chinese whose family had been enrolled in a Monguor clan for many generations, had a daughter married "with the girdle" who was the mother of a lovely boy. He also had a son, a daughter-in-law, and grandchildren. The girl of the girdle, who was always having trouble with her sister-in-law, finally could not stand any more, married a man named Hou Yu-liang as his concubine, and took her son with her. Hou paid her father four hundred strings of cash for her.

After five or six years, during the festivities held at the second moon in Weiyuanp'u, a Chinese peddler from Ho-nan province, named Li, made trouble with Hou Yu-liang for having, as he complained, married the

585 When a girl who is unwilling to marry has relations with a guest, custom requires that the guest present his girdle (sash) to the girl. In the event that she subsequently becomes pregnant, she performs the rites of marriage with the sash, and she is thenceforth known as "Mrs. So-and-So" (guest's name), and the son as "boy so-and-so," even if the guest never comes back during her whole life.

The importance of the girdle is worth noting. Among the Mongols of the Ordos, according to Fr. Mostaert, when on the day set for the marriage the groom falls ill and is unable to attend the ceremony, his girdle is sent to the bride and she performs the rite of marriage with it. I never met such a case among the Monguors, and it appears that the girdle is used among the Ordos Mongols in circumstances quite different from those in which it is used among the Monguors. We note also that kidnapped widows prove before the court of the village their unwillingness to marry so-and-so by showing the girdle which was exchanged with so-and-so. Father Mostaert told me that when shamans in the Ordos perform their rites, removal of the girdle is one of the most important acts. This custom is unknown among the Monguor shamans.

592 sends the family in attending the general assembly of the clan at the spring ceremony of venerating the ancestors. At such meetings, the older people are always bitter in their condemnation of heads of families who send a delegate instead of attending in person.

592 Apart from religious practices within the family, the head of the family must also attend when shamanistic ceremonies are staged in the village temple. Within the household, it is his duty every morning to honor "heaven and all the spirits" either on the roof of his house or in the courtyard. A duty that he cannot alienate from himself is the cult of the deity honored by his father; the picture of this deity reverts to him by inheritance. It is also his responsibility to invite either shamans or lamas to his house on various occasions.

592 In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. All money coming to any member of the family must be deposited with him. 471 Individuals in the family have no right to keep money for their own use. It is he who sells and buys cattle and grain, and all contracts must be signed by him because only his signature is legally valid for the family. He also buys, sells, or mortgages land. It is his right to decide which member of the family is to become a lama, who is to be sent to school, and who is to serve as a soldier. He directs all the ordinary routine of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns to members of the family their daily duties. If members of the family wish to attend festivals, he must give permission; he must also give permission if a daughter-in-law wants to go home to visit her parents.

[553] He is of course the one who decides on the arrangements for marriages and funerals, and it is his privilege to give names not only to his own children but to

592 grandchildren. He is expected to be just and even-handed in seeing that all members of the family have their fair share of clothes and their fair share of space in living quarters. Inability to handle such matters to the satisfaction of the family often leads to the break-up of an extended family and the building of new chimneys. Authority within the family is balanced by responsibility to the chief of the clan not only for the family itself but for murders or robberies committed on land belonging to the family. In the event that a member of his own family is murdered, he must join with the maternal uncle of the one who has been killed in leading all the men of the family to secure vengeance. When a member of his family brings shame on the family by a crime, such as stealing, and is unwilling to make amends, he must again consult with the maternal uncle of the guilty person and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. In such cases even the death penalty may be exacted without arousing the disapproval of the public authorities.

592 When visiting a Monguor family, it is always easy to recognize the head of the family. He is better dressed than the others, is almost never without a long-stemmed pipe in his hand, and does not do any hard physical

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628 and that prices of animals were fixed at double their true value. (The same custom existed for a widow's bride price.)

Nevertheless, the Li family was ruined. The entertainment of so many hostile guests and of the elders for so many days, the money promised in secret at night in order to effect an advantageous settlement, presents given to the elders, etc., constituted the most important expenses. The atonement was, in fact, the least important expense.

The ill-boding arrival of the deceased girl's maternal uncle, accompanied by the members of the Ch'i family breathing vengeance; the empty home in a state of indescribable destruction; the way in which the formerly friendly Li family was slighted, offended, treated with bathing, saddled with debts and ruined; the leaden atmosphere of gloom for so many days—all these tragic events made a deep impression and enhanced the authoritative stature of the maternal uncle, the hub around which turned the entire tragedy. When one has witnessed such a tragedy and seen one group of people on bended knees in supplication, weeping profusely, before another group of hard-hearted people, unwilling to forgive, their eyes red with hatred, rancor and embitterment, the meaning of "blood vengeance" is understood and remembered forever.

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681 C. Capital and lesser punishments were inflicted by the maternal uncle on his sister's child in certain instances.

The maternal uncle wielded not only the power to permit or to impede the funeral of his sister's children, and to avenge their murder or suicide, but according to custom he had also the right to inflict punishment of various kinds on them. His power to mete out capital punishment may be illustrated by the following two cases of murder, the first involving only one kin group and the second involving two different kin groups.

In May 1914, in the same village of Lichiat'an, a youngster killed the older brother of his father. Subsequent to the division of the patrilineal inheritance the preceding autumn, the father and his brother had become implacable enemies and clashes had occurred between their sons on several occasions.

In this case, the maternal uncle of the murderer was invited together with the village elders and the paternal relatives of the family. The father of the murderer, heavy with despair but hoping that his son would escape with his life, invited men celebrated in the art of patching quarrels, and also the chief and elders of the village. He tried to hide some of his best animals, but no one would help him. The emotion and revulsion which arose in the country at such an unprecedented event had reached fever pitch because in the Monguor patrilineal society (as in that of the Chinese) a father's brother is classified as a "real" father, and therefore in local sentiment the murder was considered tantamount to patricide. The meeting began on the third day and

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681 (Later I heard that this decision had been criticized throughout the countryside.)

In 1917, in the valley of Hungnai a youngster of twenty-one, who was always stealing and thus disgracing his honorable family, had his eyes burned out with quicklime in keeping with the decision of his maternal uncle and the chiefs of the family.

In 1914 in Chenfan¹⁸ valley a young woman, the wife of a poor man, eloped with a rich lover, abandoning her husband and two children. After three or four years, disgusted with the lover, she returned to her mother. Her maternal uncle and her parents ordered her to rejoin her former husband and two children. Her husband, however, before accepting her back, urged the maternal uncle to give him an affidavit, testifying that he would not provoke trouble in case the girl committed suicide, for the poor man suspected that she was not willing to return.¹⁹

It may perhaps seem unbelievable that as late as the period of the Chinese Republic such measures as the inflicting of capital punishment by the people was allowed, without the interference of a court. The explanation is to be found in the old tradition, still persistent at the time, that the courts need take no notice of any crime whatever, if the crime were not brought before a court by someone who had suffered loss or damage through the commission of the crime.

The T'u-ssu, the chiefs, and the elders of the villages, who themselves had no right to inflict capital punishment, knew all the facts of such cases as those I have described, since they were invited as arbiters; but they did not interfere as civil officials, because they were Monguors and they felt it natural and reasonable that each family should itself avenge the murder of a member of the family, without interference from outside authority.

In all these cases the maternal uncle acted as a real "master of the bones" of the children of his sister, notwithstanding that, in this patriarchal family system, both the children of his sister and his sister herself were considered to belong entirely to her husband and his family, in all matters of property and authority except offenses that, without the intervention of the maternal uncle, might result in blood feuds between clans. The maternal uncle did not patch up quarrels, but he did take it upon himself to make decisions; he punished, and he alone took the responsibility for his decisions.

The cases cited above highlight the fact that the maternal uncle was simultaneously a protector and disciplinarian of his sister's children, and that his authority

¹⁸ A Chinese place name. *Chen* is "to exercise control by means of a military strong point"; *fan* is general for "barbarian," specific for "Tibetan." Hence the name means "military strong point on the Tibetan frontier."—O. L.

¹⁹ I encountered a similar case in a Chinese community. The authority of the maternal uncle is recognized by traditional Chinese law, and Chinese say that when the maternal uncle accuses the children of his sister before a Chinese court, their own parents can do nothing to defend them.

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681 in these particular situations was the same whether the sister's children remained in the families in which they were born, or married out into other families (in the case of the sister's daughter). This relationship between the maternal uncle and his sister's child leads us to inquire into the nature of the relationship between the maternal uncle and his own family, on the one hand, and the families into which his sister's children were born or married, on the other.

Let us consider the relationship between the family of the maternal uncle and the family into which his sister's children were born. The two families—*A* and *B* respectively—were united directly by the marriage of a girl from family *A* with a man from family *B*, and the children of this couple became members of family *B*. We may suppose that the marriage was made possible originally because the two families would be strengthened rather than weakened. Evidence of this friendly relationship between the two Monguor families at the time of the marriage were the many presents which each lavished upon the other.

What was the effect of the maternal uncle's role as avenger and disciplinarian in strengthening or weakening this bond of friendship? Before children were born of the marriage, if the girl was killed or driven to suicide by members of family *B*, or herself caused the death of a member of family *B*, the two families became hostile, but the responsibility of initiating and executing vengeance or punishment fell on the girl's maternal uncle who was not a member of either family *A* or family *B*, but of a third family, *C*. This man assumed the responsibility for the final action taken, and the hostility between families *A* and *B* was thus given some indirection by the interposition of a third party.

When children were born to the girl in family *B*, her brother in family *A* became the maternal uncle of these children, and subsequently the natural death of these children, or their involvement in family murders and suicides, placed families *A* and *B* in a direct relationship of either hostility or closer friendship with each other, as shown by the following table:

<i>A</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>C</i>
Paul Ch'i—Rose Wang	her brother Joe Wang	
<i>B</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>A</i> <i>A</i>
Arthur Li—Jean Ch'i	her brothers Bob Ch'i and Bill Ch'i	
<i>D</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i> <i>B</i>
Joe Chang—Mary Li	her brothers Peter Li and Joe Li	
<i>D</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>D</i>
Helen Chang	her brothers Joe Chang and Peter Chang	
Joe Wang is the maternal uncle of Jean Ch'i, Bob Ch'i, and Bill Ch'i.		
Bob Ch'i and Bill Ch'i are the maternal uncles of Mary Li, Peter Li, and Joe Li.		
Peter Li and Joe Li are the maternal uncles of Helen, Peter, and Joe Chang.		

This relationship was in fact much more likely to be one of closer friendship in such situations. Conflict of interest between the two families would occur if the sis-

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ter's child had wronged or had been wronged by a member of his own family *B*; in such cases the maternal uncle from family *A* would be called in to administer severe punishment to his sister's child, usually against the wishes of at least one or two members of family *B*, or to initiate vengeance against members of family *B* who had wronged his sister's child. Such cases were quite rare.

More frequently, the maternal uncle was called in to support family *B* by leading the vengeance for wrongs against the sister's child committed by members of other families, as in the case of the sister's daughter who was murdered or driven to suicide by her husband and his relatives. He would also be called on to support his sister's son when the latter was himself carrying out vengeance or disciplinary activities as a "master of the bones." Consequently, family *B* looked on the maternal uncle in family *A* more as a source of moral support than as an object of fear.

While hostility was more apt to arise between the maternal uncle and the family into which his sister's daughter married, here again this eventuality was balanced by the fact that the sister's daughter's husband could call on his wife's maternal uncle to assist him in executing his own vengeance or disciplinary action, in the same way that the sister's son could call on the maternal uncle.

In reality, the role of the maternal uncle in Monguor society tended to contribute to, rather than detract from, the friendly relationship between two families connected by marriage. At the time of the marriage, these did not consider the possibility of feuds between themselves, and weddings were not surrounded by an atmosphere of fear and foreboding of future terroristic activity on the part of the maternal uncle.

The situations described above in connection with murder, suicide, and natural death present only one aspect of the maternal uncle's role. Being crises, they were exceptional, and a consideration of them alone might lead one to visualize the maternal uncle only as the primary agent for meting out justice in the families of his sister's children. His role was more complex and consideration must be given to other aspects, ordinarily overlooked, which were more important in the normal course of life and which reveal other strong bonds between the maternal uncle and the families of his sister's children. In order to get a clearer picture, let us next consider the special relationships between a brother and his sister.

We must first take into account the fact that among the Monguors the oldest son was the chief of the family after the death of his father. His sisters and younger brothers were most intimate with him, and would all take council with him. A particularly close relationship usually developed between a sister and her elder brother in regard to property. Although women could not claim any share of the family inheritance, either in their own family or

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[583] in the family of their husbands, it was customary for their mothers to tell their daughters secretly that they might secure a small private herd of animals by enlisting the aid of their elder brothers, who were to approach the father on auspicious occasions and ask for a gift of new born lambs or calves for their sisters. Every year at New Year's time the father was usually in a happy mood, and on the days that lambs or calves were born, the girls would worry their elder brothers and rarely failed to see their wishes fulfilled. Once the animals were obtained they were entrusted to the elder brother's care, marked on the ear with a special mark, and the brother would keep them for the sister in the family herd. On the day of her wedding, a daughter would thus possess a small herd of her own.

Again on the day of her marriage and even after marriage, a daughter would approach her elder brother in an attempt to obtain some more cows. After marriage, a girl never mixed her small herd with the herds of her husband but continued to keep it in the herd of her oldest brother. Whenever she returned home to visit her mother, she examined her little treasure, collected the lamb skins and wool, and used them or sold them for herself and her children.

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604 Furthermore, on the day of her marriage, the daughter of a well-to-do family was usually given some land, called "cosmetic" or "paint" fields—i.e. fields whose revenue was to be used for her own personal use. The revenue from such lands became her own private income and savings. When she died, the revenue could be collected by her children. She was the real owner of the land and possessed the right to transfer it, but before transferring it, she had to inform the family of her intentions and to offer the family the first opportunity to reclaim it. When a woman acquired such lands it was again her oldest brother who took care of the land and planted, weeded, and harvested it for his sister.

I also met six young women who owned thirty or more poplar trees, planted for them by their brothers, on the edge of the fields of their parents, when they were girls of about eight or ten years of age. After fifteen years the trees had become a valuable item of capital.

604 The bond which developed between a brother and sister and which continued after the sister's marriage was extended to the sister's children. Children saw their mother's great affection for her own elder brother and *vice versa*. They knew that their mother had a small private treasure entrusted to him, from which they hoped to benefit eventually. The mother made the children-fel toward her brother the way she herself felt. Hence love and esteem grew on both sides and as his sister's children grew up and married, their maternal uncle became their benefactor in the normal exigencies of life, as well as their avenger and disciplinarian in abnormal crises like those noted above.

This relationship between a brother and his sister and sister's children formed the basis for the beneficent and

581 /6 cont'd/

589 as far as selling all that one possesses, one's lands, houses, and ani-
 183 mals, and will live in indigence; at the death of the parents, the elder married sons, in the case where the possessions are about to be divided up, must, before all else, put aside the sums required for the marriage of the younger unmarried sons; the parents, at the approach of death, will feel the greatest relief in the fact that they have gotten all their sons married. In order to permit the poor to marry, recourse is had to all kinds of contrivances, which very often are only imposed by reason of their primordial goal, which is that of marriage, and which scorn many obligations which in "justice" would seem, at the least, to have to be taken into greater consideration. One will find decisions which will appear unjust, but when one studies this mental attitude, which gives proportion to everything, one will understand that among the T'ou-jen the other principles yield to it and are sacrificed.

554 Marriage, for the T'ou-jen people, is the great affair in life,
 581 obligatory above all else. One is no longer an honorable man when one is not married; this is because they believe that man has the duty to live according to natural law, that is, to marry and procreate children.

623 One day one of my catechists was invited to sit with the elde
 627 of the village to judge the case of a penniless young man who had
 689 run off with a girl of good rank. They had been brought back after
 588 an escapade of three years, with a child born during the flight.

The young man was on his knees, his hands tied behind his back, imploring the clemency of the judges and of the whole assembled village. /7/ Despairing, he was saying, of ever being able to marry because of his extreme poverty, he had believed it permissible to act in this way, in order to be able to do his duty and marry. "I have been unjust toward the girl's parents, but I submit myself in advance to make all the reparations possible that will be required of me...."

The girl also cries for mercy: "I could have hoped for a better match," she admits, "but I followed this young man to be gracious; without me, he would never have been able to marry...."

681 After an important palaver the offending couple was punished, and the judges found a way to indemnify the injured family and to legalize this union.

/146 cont'd/

578 amuse herself... and has already had too many relations... one fine
593 day she disappears. This is the big affliction of the region. When a wife has run away, they immediately guess who her accomplice is; but it is necessary to be able to locate them. If the inquiries made about them are fruitless, after several days the son-in-law will go to his wife's family, pretending to believe that his dear better half is at their home and that he will find out about her return. This is also a way of informing the parents about their daughter's flight.

If after five or six months the fugitive has not come back, her parents require the son-in-law, accompanied by two aides, to go to get her at his expense; there is always some indication as to where she is. If they have exact information, they go to the headmen of the place to demand that they get hold of the fugitives so that they can bring them back home tied up.

684 Upon their return to the village, the village heads and the
627 members of the families of the lover and the wife are called. In the
681 presence of the whole populace, who very much relish this kind of distraction, the village heads begin the preliminary investigation of the affair. The case is examined to the bottom, and finally the lover is badly beaten and hung up by the thumbs until someone turns up who will act as guarantor for him. Then comes the woman, who is beaten on her bare back with leather lashes for as long as she does not manifest her regrets while adding good resolves for the future. Then the two culprits are taken through the village and exposed to the mockery of all; a herald precedes them, beating a drum and proclaiming their crime. It may happen that an indemnity on the part of the lover's family may be asked for the wrong done to the husband.

586 /147/ The wife goes back into the house; if she brings a child
681 born during the escapade, he is accepted into the family.

But it may also happen that the runaways are not found. Then after two or three years of vain search, the wife's parents demand a settlement of accounts. The parents-in-law then invite the parents of the runaway daughter-in-law, as well as her maternal uncles, the village heads, and several friends who are good speakers, for it will be a question of tseou che jen ming, i.e., "the indemnity (to the parents) for the loss of their daughter occasioned by her running away."

/147 cont'd/

586 Indeed, the parents claim that their daughter, as a consequence
681 of bad treatment on the part of the parents-in-law, was forced to
leave home, ran away, and must have perished nobody knows where.
The parents-in-law are therefore responsible for her death..., and
the discussion begins. On both sides they are convinced that the
daughter is just as guilty as the parents-in-law, if not more; they al-
so know very well that the daughter is alive. Everyone understands
that the parents want to profit by the occasion in order to raise money
on the backs of their family by marriage. After long discussions,
which can last two days and more, they end up by having to give to
the parents of the runaway a sum of two to three hundred strings of
cash as indemnity for the daughter-in-law, who is deemed to be
lost. A contract is written by which it is recognized that the affair
is shelved forever and that in the future the parents-in-law will no
longer be able to try to pick a quarrel with the son-in-law nor extort
money a second time...; furthermore, should the daughter return,
they bind themselves to pay back the indemnity. As for this last
clause, it is gone with the wind; the adage says besides: "Once the
flesh has entered the wolf's mouth, it is not easy to pull it out again."

586 Nevertheless, if the daughter comes back after several years
583 with her lover, or if she has been taken and brought back forcibly,
681 they act as above with the runaways of this category; however they
require more serious guarantees and a larger indemnity on the part
of the lover's family. It happens very often that on /148/ this oc-
casion they sell the woman to her lover if he has the wherewithal to
pay for her. They likewise sell him the children born during the
long absence. If the wife is not sold, she goes back to her home and
is again admitted into the family circle with the children born to
her while away, for, says the adage: "What grows on my land is
mine and what my wife gives birth to is mine."

586 However one can believe that the parents are scarcely delighted
593 with such presents, especially when children are not lacking in their
home. Indeed, the adage says: "The cow to be robust must run on
the mountain, but it must come home to the stable." If the com-
parison is not elegant, it makes one think of the nomadic life. The

case with the subjects of the T'u-ssu, and so no out-175
standing rich families could rise up among them. Since 365
the entire administration was carried on exclusively 792
by lamas, the subjects could hardly incur any important
social prestige within their circle, or become leading
personalities, and certainly not during the entire Ming
period (1368-1644) when intermittent troubles and
interruptions of trade curtailed the opportunity to be-
come rich. Accordingly, the lamas effectively con-
trolled the subjects and their domains.

As no written code of law existed, the lama officials 175
helped themselves with a house law on a grand scale. 792
by imposing taxes, corvées, and tribute, mediating 692
troubles in families, meting out punishments and im-
prisonments for crying injustices. The subjects, pin-
ning their hope on a better living, were submissive and
obedient, simply because the chief lama was their lord.

It is easy to understand that the subjects of the mon-
asteries enjoyed no rights of their own, but they de-
pendent entirely on the administration of the chief of the
monastery and his lama officials.

It may be supposed, however, that capital punish- [687] ●
ment of the subjects of the monasteries was reserved
to the emperor, as it was in the case of subjects of the
T'u-ssu. It is not known whether, before 1723, the
right of recourse of the subjects to a higher Chinese
court existed or not. If it did exist, it must have been
nominal, as it is at present.

The living conditions of the subjects, however, must 175
have been for the most part bearable, as evidenced by 792
the fact that so many people applied to the lamaseries 571
to become subjects. Only after 1723 are a few cases
known of subjects revolting against the chief lama and
his officials, such as the case of Yang-kuo-erh-ssu, and
that of the subjects of the Sina tribe, who preferred to
become Chinese subjects rather than remain subjects
of the lamas. On the other hand, the unbelievably large
number of lamas from among the subjects, since every
family had a son or an uncle lama, must have disposed
the families favorably toward the monasteries and their
chiefs, and made the subjects overlook the shortcomings
and deficiencies inherent in any human institution.

The reasons why the privileged status of the monas-
teries lasted for so long in Huang-chung were, first, the
insecurity of the country, especially after 1509, and then
the influence of the Erh-ku-lung Hutukhtus in Peking.

The chiefs of the monasteries were, at the same time, 175
the temporal and the spiritual chiefs of the subjects. 792
The subjects were compelled to invite the lamas on 794
whom they depended to recite texts in behalf of the
families of the communities, or to perform public or
private ceremonies, to the exclusion of lamas of other
communities, at such times as epidemics, epizootics, the
burying of the dead. They had to make donations at
fixed times, when their lamas, their chiefs, came tour-
ing for alms among them. Corvées were imposed at
the time of celebrations and festivities at their lamaseries.

roll of the inmates and from that time on he becomes ⁷⁹² a member of the community, and is able to reap the benefits of his membership. The same rule exists for admission to the colleges.

Nobody cares about the past of the newcomer, nobody inquires about the name of his country, his parents, or the reasons for his arrival. The lamas know very well that inquiries about these matters are of no avail, for if he were a dishonorable man he would certainly not reveal his past. Therefore, it suffices to say that you are coming to worship a certain Buddha honored at the lamasery, and that the period required to satisfy your devotion will probably be long, maybe a year, two years, or more. Then you have to try and find yourself a home in the lamasery, renting a room from a lama, or sharing a room. The proprietor of a courtyard has to report the names of the lamas living in his yard. In small institutions the control is easy, but in large ones, like Kumbum, it is impossible. Frequently, lamas assured me that there was always a number of non-registered lamas, mostly of the traveling businessman type, living at the homes of their friends.

Withdrawal from the lamasery is as easy. Every lama is free to abandon the lamasery forever, at any time. He has only to inform the intendency of his departure. Only lamas who are guarantors for debts are not allowed to leave, as long as the business is unfinished. A lama is free to sell his courtyard to another lama, and to leave at any time. Usually, a number of lamas leave after the distribution of alms. Once a lama has left the monastery, it has no obligation to care for him any more, unless he has been a guarantor or has committed an injustice against the lamasery. The rector of Chiar-too-ssu, a branch of Erh-ku-lung, left the monastery, bought property adjacent to it, and without changing his lama dress for the clothes of a layman, lived with his wife unmolested. I encountered three or more lama doctors, celebrated for proficiency in their art, who lived with their wives, still wearing their religious garb. Even the son of one of them was dressed as a lama. ⁷⁹³

If a lama whose name is inscribed on the rolls should be informed by his friends of a charge made against him at the intendency for moral reasons or theft, he leaves the lamasery in time to avoid the punishments which are meted out with ruthless severity, and moves to another lamasery. Most of the time, a lama would be advised to leave by the intendency itself, for intendencies are reluctant to inflict such punishments, in order to avoid scandal.

In Kumbum, in 1912, I saw a lama, accused by a ⁷⁹² husband for visiting his wife, beaten unconscious before ⁶²⁷ the main temple, while the community read imprecations. ⁶⁹⁴ Half his face was blackened with soot; a paper hat, half black, half white, was put on his head; and ⁶⁸¹ the traditional oval was impressed on both his cheeks

[p. 71 (B)]

with a burning ram's horn. He was carried outside the monastery wall by lamas. Ashes were spread all the way along in order to prevent his "spirit" from finding the way back to harm the lamasery. A large group of lamas followed. He was thrown on the ground, stripped of all his garments, amid the shouts of the lamas and the long blare of trumpets, and the group returned to the monastery without looking back. A round mark is burned on thieves. It is impossible for those so marked to enter any monastery. [627] [624] [631] [635]

At the time of the festival at Erh-ku-lung in 1912, three young lamas molested a young lady, causing her death. They fled the same night. The whole village of Too-long accused the monastery at Hsining, which was unable to trace the murderers and had to pay an indemnity of 3,000 taels, after spending far more at court. The whole country was bursting with righteous indignation. It was a tremendous loss of face for the lamasery. [627]

Lamas not only lack the vow of obedience, but also the vow of poverty. It has been explained how lamas retain their own wealth and the means they use for increasing it.²⁷ Among the lamas are rich individuals enjoying a happy life, possessing a beautiful courtyard, clothed with silk and brocade, riding the finest horses and mules of the country, served by as many lamas as they wish, and there are poor individuals who have trouble making both ends meet—ill fed, ill clothed, working the whole day. Nobody takes care of them because wealth is a personal matter, and no vow of poverty exists. It has been explained how the lack of the vow of poverty is responsible in a large part for the loss of spirit in the monastic life, and how from this lack originate most of the vices encountered among the lamas and the ruination of monasteries. [792] [511]

Lamas lack the vow of chastity, for chastity reaches farther than celibacy. The Buddhists know this very well and the texts prove it.²⁸ [792] [831]

The reform of Tsong-khapa, the founder of the Yellow Sect, aimed at return to the traditional monastic life, based on celibacy and serious study. The sense of the necessity of celibacy still seems to prevail among the Monguor lamas. This assumption seems evidenced by the facts that the communities of lamas bring suit at Chinese courts against even supreme chiefs of lamaseries, and intendants who betray their vows, as was the case with the Living Buddhas Sumpa, Lu-chia, and Min-chu-erh, and even with Li, the intendant of the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu. It was the same with the Living Buddha Seerting who was caught red-handed by the [185]

²⁷ The wealth possessed by a lama, his courtyard, etc. are inherited by his apprentice; in case he dies without having an apprentice, his wealth is sold by the intendency; prayers are said by the lamas and alms given to them. If a lama who is proprietor of a courtyard marries, his courtyard is taken by the intendency.

²⁸ L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Morale bouddhique*, 79. Paris, Librairie Nationale, 1927.

on his second ascension to the throne, and to present¹⁷⁵
 his offices in these times of troubles which beset⁶⁴⁸
 the empire. He was promoted Tu-tu ch'ien-shih and some-
 what later Yu-tu-tu, Governor of Tat'ung. Two^[648]
 thousand Mongols arrived and plundered the region
 of Wei-yuan. Li Wen defeated and pursued them.
 The emperor granted him the title of Duke of Kao
 Yang. In the autumn of 1460 the Mongol Polai started^[657]
 a raid on a large scale invading Yen-men-kuan and
 devastating the country. The officials in the capital
 grew very anxious. Li Wen, however, forbade his
 troops to move. He was committed to prison and de-
 liberation concerning capital punishment was held. The^[651]
 emperor pardoned him, but he was stripped of his
 titles except that of tu-tu ch'ien-shih, and an opportu-
 nity was granted to redeem his honor by fighting the
 Mongols in the regions of Yenan and Sui-te (*Annals*
 of Kansu 42: 28a; *Annals of Hsining* 27: 11b).

What was the reason of the unusual behavior of^{175x}
 Li Wen?⁶⁶²

During the whole reign of Emperor Ching Ti (1450-⁵⁷⁸
 1457) intrigues went on among the ambitious eunuchs
 and the most prominent officials, some of them friends
 and some of them foes of Emperor Ching Ti or of the
 secluded Emperor Yin Tsung. The factions acethed
 with hatred, accused and slandered each other, coveting
 the highest positions, wreaking ruin on their rivals.
 Many executions of high officials cast a blot in the
 reigns of Ching Ti and Yin Tsung.

General Shih Heng had defended for Emperor Ching^{175x}
 Ti the capital besieged by Esen in 1449. During the⁶⁶⁸
 illness of Emperor Ching Ti, he hatched a plot pre-
 paring the dethronement of Ching Ti and the enthronement
 of Yin Tsung. Near Yin Tsung he accused his
 rivals and seven executions of the most prominent officials
 followed. He was bestowed with the title of
 Pillar of the empire. But a comet appeared in the sky.^[717]
 It was an ominous portent, indicating that the seven
 executions caused by Shih Heng were disapproved by
 Heaven. Shih Heng was committed to prison. Later
 during one of the brightest days it thundered terribly
 for a whole day, and one of the doorgates of the palace
 was smashed. Then deluging rains caused inundations
 in many provinces. Yin Tsung, at his wit's end, pro-^[657]
 claimed an amnesty in 1458. Shih Heng could leave
 jail. In 1459 Shih Heng invited an astrologer to read
 his horoscope. The clever man guessing his client's
 meaning, predicted that in the Shih family an emperor
 would arise, founder of a new dynasty, but that he
 would have to act with the utmost caution. Shih Heng
 broke the news to his son, Shih Pien, for whom he had
 previously secured the office of Governor of Ta-t'ung.
 The young man, not cautious enough in his speech, let
 the secret leak out in Ta-t'ung. The officials of Ta-t'ung
 reported at court and judges arrived. Shih Pien poi-
 soned himself. His father was committed to jail and
 ended his life in the same way. The officials of Ta-⁰⁰⁰